

# Roman bronze gladiators

## A new figurine of a *murmillo* from Brigetio

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### Abstract

*In summer 2019 a bronze figurine of a gladiator came to light during the excavations in the praetentura of the legionary fortress of Brigetio. This paper will briefly review all known bronze gladiator figurines from Brigetio, as well as the representations of gladiators in Roman art.*

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## 1. Gladiators in Roman art

### 1.1 Introduction

The representation of different kinds of gladiators is a frequent motif in most fields of Roman art. The institution of gladiatorial games (*munera gladiatoria*) was mentioned first in ancient sources in 264 BC and became increasingly popular among Romans until the games were officially abolished in 404 AD by Emperor Honorius (Theodoretos, *Hist. Eccl.*, V. 26.). This extreme popularity is reflected in the great number of survived representations and inscriptions concerning gladiators.<sup>1</sup> Gravestones and *graffiti* (the latter mostly from Pompeii) are very important epigraphical documents mentioning the names, types and even the number of victories of the gladiators. Most of the representations come from the heyday of gladiatorial combat, the first three centuries of the Empire, when gladiators became common decorative elements on objects of everyday use.

The repertoire of representations and materials is wide and varied: mosaics and reliefs, brooches,<sup>2</sup> lamps, pottery, glass vessels and knife-handles.<sup>3</sup> The small figurines made of terracotta and bronze, and especially the bone and bronze knife-handles are very important sources on the weapons and armour of gladiators, since the number of survived equipment which can be securely connected with gladiators are very scarce.<sup>4</sup> Among bronze figurines, all the popular gladiator types, the *murmillo*, the *thraex*, the *secutor* and the *retiarius*, and also the pair of a *secutor* and a *retiarius* are widely represented.<sup>5</sup>

1 On gladiators and the *munera gladiatoria* in general see LANDES – CAZES 1987; KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000; JUNKELMANN 2000.

2 PROHÁSZKA 2001.

3 On Roman bone and bronze knife-handles representing gladiators see MERCKLIN 1940; KOLENDO 1998; GOTTSCHALK 2006; BARTUS 2010.

4 Most of the survived weapons and equipment of gladiators came from one find from Pompeii (15 helmets, 17 greaves, 3 shoulder-plates, a shield and numerous fragments), however, the practicability of them is at least questionable, see KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000, 38–45.

5 Some less frequent or unidentifiable types of gladiators also appear among bronze figurines: BARTUS 2010, No. 14 [=MERCKLIN 1940, Anm. 63.] (*hoplomachus*); LANDES – CAZES 1987, 168–169, No. 86 (*cruppellarius?*); BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 420, No. 950–952 (unidentifiable); REINACH 1897–1924, IV.112.9 (unidentifiable); etc. For a short summary of bronze gladiator representations see LANDES – CAZES 1987, 77–81.

## 1.2 Murmillo

The *murmillo* belongs to the group of heavy-armored gladiators. Its dress consisted of a loin-cloth (*subligaculum*) and a belt (*balteus*). The right arm was protected by an armguard made of leather or folded drapery (*manica*) and the left leg was protected by a bronze greave (*ocrea*). He held a large, rectangular shield (*scutum*) and a short sword (*gladius*). The most unique part of the *murmillo*'s armour is the helmet, the only piece which differs from the otherwise identical armour of the *secutor*. The crest of the *murmillo*'s helmet resembles a fish, which can be connected with the Greek origin of the word *murmillo* (μωρμύρος = fish). The *murmillo* was often called *Samnis* in the earlier research, based on the assumption that the *Samnis* was the predecessor of the *murmillo*, however, according to Festus, the *murmillo* was earlier called *Gallus*: the famous sentence of the *retiarius* fighting the *murmillo* was “*Non te peto, piscem peto – quid me fugis, Galle?*” (Festus, *De verb.*, 285).<sup>6</sup> The duel between the *murmillo* and *retiarius* in the arena was the symbolic fight of the fish and the fisherman,<sup>7</sup> however, the most frequent pairing in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire was the fight of the *murmillo* and the *thraex*.

There is a special group among the representations of *murmillones* (and also of *thraeces*), the bone knife-handles with inscribed shield. The first example of the group came from Ampurias, with the inscription “*PARDVS*” on the shield.<sup>8</sup> The name “*Pardus*” appears frequently in the epigraphical material, even in the form of the name of a gladiator.<sup>9</sup> The elaboration of the knife-handle itself is mediocre, but the typical features of the *murmillo*, the helmet, the large, rectangular shield with *umbo*, the *manica*, *ocrea* and the short *gladius* are well-recognisable. The closest analogy of the Ampurias knife-handle came from the northern cemetery of Savaria (Szombathely, Hungary) in 2006. A pair of bone knife-handles was found in a cinerary urn together with a coin of Anoninus Pius. One of them represents a *murmillo*, the other one is a *thraex*, with the inscriptions “*PARDV(s)*” and “*SENILI(s)*”<sup>10</sup> on their shields, respectively.<sup>11</sup> This unique set of knife-handles represents the most popular pair of gladiatorial combat and indicates that all knife-handles with the inscriptions “*Pardus*” and “*Senilis*” were originally used in pairs, presumably in the second half of the second century AD.

6 The word *murmillo* is not frequent in ancient sources, see e. g. Suet., *Cal.*, 32; 55; Suet., *Nero* 30; 47; Suet. *Dom.*, 10; Iuven., *Sat.*, 6,81; 8, 199–200; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, 7,55,7; Sen., *Dialogi* 1,4,4; Val. *Max.*, 1,7,8; Cic., *Phil.*, 3,31; 5,20; 6,10; 6,13; 7,17; 12,20; Florus, *Epit.*, 2,8,38; Quintilianus, *Inst. Orat.*, 6,3,61. There are more examples of the *murmillones* in the epigraphical material: AE 1908, 222; AE 1960, 139–140; AE 1971, 263; AE 1988, 25–26; CIL II2 353, 355–356, 359, 363, 365; CIL IV 2387, 2508, 4327, 4329, 4336, 4407, 7360, 9018; CIL V 1907; CIL VI 631, 10169, 10176, 10179–10180; CIL IX 465–466; CIL XII 3325–3326, 3330, 5836–5837; CIL XIII 1200; ESPÉRANDIEU 1929, 434, 436.

7 See the inscriptions with the expression “*murmillo contrarete*” (CIL II2 361, 363; CIL VI 10180; CIL II, 7, 363; ESPÉRANDIEU 1929, 436).

8 AE 1952, 110; ALMAGRO 1952, 137; BARTUS 2010, No. 1. In the first detailed publication of the object it was described erroneously as a mirror handle representing a “*samnis*” (PIERNAVIEJA ROZITIS 1971–72, 382.).

9 CIL VI 631 (Rome): “...*pardus prov(ocator) vet(eranus)*...”; CIL VI 33983.

10 The name “*Senilis*” appears frequently in the epigraphical material, but none of these can be connected with gladiators: AE 1904, 182; AE 1920, 69; AE 1962, 383; AE 1964, 6ad; AE 1971, 257; AE 1972, 446–447; AE 1975, 565; AE 1976, 422; AE 1995, 894, AE 2001, 2155; CIL II 4970,467c–e; 4970,468; CIL III 998, 1009, 1204, 1970, 4835, 5121, 5188, 5196a, 5439, 5499, 5504, 5907; CIL V 1052, 1267, 8224; CIL VI 2375, 2543, 21011, 31152, 32640; CIL X 8059,363–364; CIL XII 1922, 2752, 3890, 3926, 4152, 4212–4213, 5378; CIL XIII 823, 1090, 1888, 1984, 2770, 4028, 4207, 5567, 5930, 6347, 6638, 7499, 7537, 8237, 11771; SPEIDEL 1994, 96; HEp I 971; ILASant 1005,78; ESPÉRANDIEU 1929, 540; ILJug III 2568fo; ILLPRON 1457, 1962; БОРЕС 2003, 315; RIB I, 1068, 1665, 1755, 2025.

11 BARTUS 2010, No. 32–33.

The two objects from Savaria are very similar to each other, with a lot of identical details created by routine-work, which means that the two knife-handles were most probably produced in the same workshop. *Pardus* and *Senilis* could be either famous gladiators of their age,<sup>12</sup> probably the second century AD, or only the personifications of the popular pair of the *murmillio* and *thraex*.

The representations of *murmillones* are also very popular among Roman bronze figurines,<sup>13</sup> and three of the four known bronze gladiators from Brigetio belong to this category.

### 1.3 *Thraex*

The *thraex*, similar to the *murmillio*, was also a heavy-armored gladiator. Apart from the *manica* and the *subligaculum*, he wore two long greaves (*ocrea*), because his small, almost square shield (*parmula*) did not provide sufficient protection for the legs. The helmet of the *thraex* (*galea*) was similar to that of the *murmillio*, but it was decorated with a griffin's head. His only weapon was the *sica*, a short sword with a curved blade which made easier to stab behind the enemy's shield. The *sica* is a well-recognizable weapon of the *thraeces* for it was always clearly elaborated on the representations and makes possible to distinguish the *thraex* (together with the smaller shield) from the otherwise nearly identical *murmillio*.<sup>14</sup> The most frequent opponent of the *thraex* was the *murmillio*, which symbolized the fight of a barbarian soldier and a Roman legionnaire, however, as told by Suetonius, some Roman Emperors had great sympathy with *thraex* gladiators.<sup>15</sup> Among bronze figurines, the representations of *thraeces* were as numerous as of the *murmillones*.<sup>16</sup>

12 Both *Pardus* and *Senilis* are "speaking names", *Senilis* could be the nickname of an elder gladiator with multiple victories. The assumption of J. Storch (STORCH 1986, 223.), that the inscription "SENILI" is the genitivus of *Senilus*, the owner of the knife-handle, is not sustainable in view of the other object with the same inscription (see BARTUS 2010).

13 FLEISCHER 1967, 146–147, Nr. 196–197, Taf. 106 [=REINACH 1897–1924, IV.112.6–7.=HUMER – KREMER 2011, 314, Nr. 479 (erroneously as *secutor*)]; GSCHWANTLER 1986, 126, Kat. 186. Abb. 251 (erroneously as *secutor*); BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 417, No. 943 [=REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.7]; 417–418, No. 944 [=REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.6]; 418, No. 946; 419, No. 948; GARCIA SERRANO 1990, 180, No. 33; DURHAM 2012, No. 171; KATINTCHAROV 1984, No. 214 [=KUNZE 1990, 86, Abb. 38.=REINACH 1897–1924, III.156.10]; No. 215 [=KUNZE 1990, 87–88, Abb. 39–40]; FROEHNER 1885, 57, No. 264 [=REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.3]; BAYARD – MASSY 1983, 92, Fig. 34; MARAZOV et al. 2005, 148, No. 147 (*murmillio*?); VON SACKEN 1871, 113–114, Taf. XVIII.8; REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.1,4,8; III.155.7–9; III.156.1,3,8; IV.112.1,5,9(?); HARRIS 1994, No. 149; VERMEULE – COMSTOCK 1988, 98, No. 129; EISENBERG 2004, No. 85; EISENBERG 2014, No. 47 (erroneously as *thraex*).

14 The curve of the *sica* was often represented nearly as a right angle (BARTUS 2010, No. 7 (*Carnuntum*); No. 14. (*Italica*); No. 32 (*Savaria*); No. 41 (Paris, Louvre); No. 43–44 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)), however, in some cases the natural curviness of three-dimensional figurines can be misleading, as it was in the case of a bone knife-handle from Nîmes, interpreted as a *thraex* (BARTUS 2010, No. 24). The most obvious difference of the elaboration of the *gladius* and the *sica* can be seen on the pair of *murmillio* and *thraex* from *Savaria* (KISS 2006, 96; BARTUS 2010, No. 32–33).

15 Caligula promoted *thraex* gladiators to officers of his Germanic bodyguards, but reduced the armour of *murmillones*: "*Thraeces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus praeposuit, murmillonum armaturas recidit.*" (Suet., *Cal.*, 55.). Titus was also supported the *thraeces*: "*Quin et studium armaturae Thraecum prae se ferens saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ut fautor cavillatus est, verum maiestate salua nec minus aequitate.*" (Suet., *Titus* 8.). Domitian caused a man who scolded a *thraex* to be thrown into the arena to dogs: "*Patrem familias, quod Thraecem murmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum spectaculis in harenam canibus obiecit cum hoc titulo: ,impie locutus parmularius.*" (Suet., *Dom.* 10.). Apart from these, the word *thraex* – as a type of gladiator – is rare in ancient sources and epigraphical documents, see Cic., *Phil.*, 6,13; Sen., *Controversiae* 3,10; Suet., *Cal.*, 35; 54; CIL IV 2387, 2508; CIL VI 631, 10193, 10194, 10195, 10196, 10197; CIL IX 465, 466.

16 BARTUS 2010, No. 38 [=MERCKLIN 1940, Anm. 63]; No. 40, Pl. III.40 [=WALTERS 1899, 358, No. 2966, fig. 84.=MERCKLIN 1940, Anm. 62.=REINACH 1897–1924, III.155.1]; No. 43 [=LANDES – CAZES 1987, 165, No. 83]; LANDES – CAZES 1987, 168, No. 85, 173–174, No. 92 [=ESPERANDIEU – ROLLAND 1959, 53, No. 96, pl. XXXIII];

### 1.4 *Secutor and retiarius*

The *secutor* was actually a variant of the *murmillo* equipped with a different helmet. It is a globular helmet with flat surface and a small crest, its most typical features are the two tiny openings for the eyes. The helmet gives a fish-like appearance to its wearer, the *secutor*, whose traditional opponent was the *retiarius*, the most lightly armored gladiator with net and trident, resembling a fisherman.<sup>17</sup> From about the turn of the second and third centuries AD, the fight of the *secutor*<sup>18</sup> and *retiarius* became the most popular form of gladiatorial combat, instead of the *murmillo* and *thraex*. It is also reflected in the number of bronze figurines representing *secutores* and *retiarum*.<sup>19</sup>

There is a special group among the representations of gladiators: some bronze and bone knife-handle depicts the final stage of the fight of a *secutor* and a *retiarius*. The most famous and beautiful example of that is an ivory knife-handle from Aventicum.<sup>20</sup> It represents the two gladiators clinging to each other at the end of the combat, the *retiarius* has already lost all of his weapons, trying to push off the sword of the *secutor* with one hand, and grasping the crest of its helmet with the other hand. But the outcome of the fight is not necessarily the victory of the *secutor*, rather a draw, the so-called “*stantes missi*”.<sup>21</sup> A very similar bone knife-handle was found in 2008 in Caerwent,<sup>22</sup> and three bronze knife-handles from France also depict exactly the same fighting scene: one from Épône, one from Moselle, and another one with unknown provenance, from the department of Loir-et-Cher.<sup>23</sup> The bronze pieces are generally less detailed and of lower quality than the bone and ivory ones, however, the example from Moselle is relatively rich in detail, compared with the other two bronzes, which are of very

175–176, No. 94 [=BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 418, No. 945 (erroneously as *murmillo*)]; 176–177, No. 95 [=BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 418–419, No. 947 (erroneously as *murmillo*)]; 177, No. 96; KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000, 51, No. 42; 55, No. 49; FRIEDRICHS 1871, 484, Nr. 2230 (*thraex*?); KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1977, 83, Nr. 85, Taf. 89; VELIČKOVIĆ 1972, 171–172, No. 102; MENZEL 1964, 25, Nr. 41, Taf. 18; REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.2; WALTERS 1899, 260, No. 1602 (with octagonal shield, probably fake), No. 1604; REINACH 1889, 205, no. 188; VERMEULE – COMSTOCK 1988, No. 96, No. 122; etc.

17 The other less common name of the *secutor* was the *contraretiarius*, see the inscription on a gravestone from Rome with the word (*contra*)*ret(iarium)*: CIL VI 33983. The word *secutor* appears more frequently on inscriptions: AE1899, 53; AE 1989, 395; AE 1994, 1236; CIL III 8825, 8830; CIL V 563, 3459; CIL VI 10190; CIL X 7297; CIL XI 740; CIL XII 1596; CIL XIV 2949; HEp II 39. ILJug III 2267; and also in ancient sources: Suet., *Cal.*, 30; SHA, *Comm.*, 15,8; Iuv., *Sat.*, 8,210.

18 BARTUS 2010, No. 9, Pl. VI.9; No. 20, Pl. VI.20 [=BOUCHER – PERDU – FEUGÈRE 1980, 75, No. 374.=LANDES – CAZES 1987, 166–168, No. 84]; No. 28, Pl. VI.28; No. 32, Pl. VI.32; No. 39 [=MERCKLIN 1940, Anm. 62]; No. 41, Pl. VI.41 [=BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 419, No. 949]; LANDES – CAZES 1987, 169–170, No. 87 [=OGGIANO-BITAR 1984, 116, No. 249]; 170–171, No. 88 [=LEIBUNDGUT 1976, 56–57, Nr. 36, Taf. 42.=REINACH 1897–1924, III.156.4]; 171–172, No. 89, 172–173, No. 90, 173, No. 91; VUJOVIĆ 2011, 265, T.VII.2 [=DRČA 1991, 23–24, No. 13]; BOUCHER – PERDU – FEUGÈRE 1980, 75, note 1.; REINACH 1889, 205–206, 187,189; FRANKEN 1994, 481–482, Nr. 89, Abb. 215–216 =REINACH 1897–1924, III.156.4]; etc.

19 KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000, 59, No. 57; FAIDER-FEYTMANS 1979, 89, No. 91, Pl. 56; BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 415, No. 941 (erroneously as *bestiarius*); 415–416, No. 942 [=LANDES – CAZES 1987, 174–175, No. 93.=REINACH 1897–1924, II.195.2]; GARCIA SERRANO 1990, 180, No. 34; VELIČKOVIĆ 1972, 170–171, No. 100 [=VUJOVIĆ 2011, 263, T.VII.1]; FLEISCHER 1967, 147, Nr. 198, Taf. 106; REINACH 1897–1924, IV.112.4,8; FRANKEN 1994, 479–481, Nr. 88, Abb. 213–214; FAUST 2004–2005, 161–163, Nr. 7; etc.

20 MAYOR 1903–1904, 117–136; MERCKLIN 1940, Anm. 64; DEGEN 1984, 173, Abb. 6; BRON 1985, 33–34, Fig. 4–5. The knife handle was dated to the second half of the third century AD on stilistical ground by Ch. Bron.

21 In some cases, when two gladiators cannot beat each other after a long and skillful fight, both could leave the arena undefeated. See e. g. CIL XII 2747 (Cavillargues, Gallia Narbonensis); EAOR V, App. 4a–b (Vienne), App. 4c (Lyon).

22 BARTUS – GRIMM 2010, 321–324.

23 MAYOR 1904, 133–134, fig. 47; FEUGÈRE 2004, 34–35.



low quality and show local influence, especially the face of the *retiarius* on the knife-handle from Loir-et-Cher.<sup>24</sup> Although we lack any data on the production of the objects, differences in quality indicate that they were produced in separate workshops. The exceptions to this are the knives from Moselle and Loir-et-Cher which are very similar in almost every detail. They are probably from the same workshop, though not from the same mould. The similar composition of the fighting scene and the identical posture of the gladiators indicate that the five knife handles could have had a common prototype, which may have been inspired by a drawing in a so-called 'pattern-book', rather than by a sculpture.

### 1.5 Other types of gladiators

Some other types of gladiators (*provocatores*, *hoplomachi*, *essedarii*, etc.) were also represented in Roman art, but they are extremely rare among bronze figurines.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Bronze figurines from Brigetio in museum collections

There are three bronze figurines of gladiators from Brigetio in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum, however, one of them is now lost. One of the surviving examples was found in 1927 during ploughing near the legionary fortress (Szőny-Bélapusztá).<sup>26</sup> The well-elaborated figurine represents a gladiator standing on a flat, elliptical base stepping forward with his slightly bent left leg. The sword is missing from the right hand, the left arm is broken. Both legs are protected by greaves decorated with small incised grooves, the laces are represented by horizontal incised lines on the calves. The gladiator is wearing a *subligaculum* and a *balteus*, the upper body is naked except for the *manica* on the right arm and the typical helmet. The sword and the shield of the gladiator is missing, therefore the only way to distinguish between a *thraex* and a *murmillio* is observing the greaves. The gladiator wears greaves on both legs, which identifies him as a *thraex*.<sup>27</sup>

The two other figurines both represent *murmillio* gladiators. One of them was bought from Jenő Lengyel by the Hungarian National Museum in 1892.<sup>28</sup> The gladiator is standing in a hide cylindrical base stepping forward with his slightly bent left leg protected by an *ocrea*. He is wearing a *subligaculum* and a *balteus*, the upper body is naked except for the *manica* on the right arm and the helmet. There is a sword in the right and a large rectangular shield in the left hand. The form of the base indicates that the figurine was a chariot mount.

The third figurine from Brigetio, now missing, also represents a *murmillio*.<sup>29</sup> Based on the drawing published by I. Paulovics it stands on a circular base stepping forward with his slightly bent right leg protected by an *ocrea*. He is wearing a *subligaculum* and a *balteus*, the upper body is naked except for the *manica* on the left arm and the helmet. The gladiator is holding his right hand in front of his helmet, his left hand is behind his back. The shield is leaned against his right knee, the sword lies on the ground. There are similar representations in the

24 FEUGÈRE 2004, fig. 9.

25 See in general LANDES – CAZES 1987; KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000; JUNKELMANN 2000.

26 Inv. no. 10.1927.1 (formerly in the Kállay Collection), H: 117 mm. HÓMAN 1928, 109, T. XXIX (left); PAULOVICS 1942, 234–240, XXXV.t.1–2; FACSÁDY – ZSIDI 2001, 117, No. 266.

27 I. Paulovics identified the gladiator erroneously as a „*samnis*” (PAULOVICS 1942, 236).

28 Inv. no. 16.1892.87, H: 132 mm. HAMPEL 1912, 143; PAULOVICS 1942, 239, XXXV.t.3.

29 Once in the Hungarian National Museum, no inventory number. PAULOVICS 1942, 238–239, XXXV.t.5.

collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>30</sup> and the British Museum,<sup>31</sup> and one from Toulouvo (Bulgaria).<sup>32</sup> The only difference between the figurines that the object from Brigetio is a mirror image or the representation of a left-handed gladiator.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. The new find from the legionary fortress of Brigetio

In summer 2019 a bronze figurine of a gladiator (*Fig. 1*) came to light during the excavations in the *praetentura* of the legionary fortress of Brigetio.<sup>34</sup> The exact findspot of the object is a trench parallel and next to the east side of the *via praetoria*, approximately 40 metres south of the *porta praetoria*. The trench was not part of the street, but a later (Late Roman or post-Roman) disturbance, probably during the removal of the stones of the sewer next to the *via praetoria*, which means that the figurine was in a secondary position without any usable stratigraphical or chronological information.

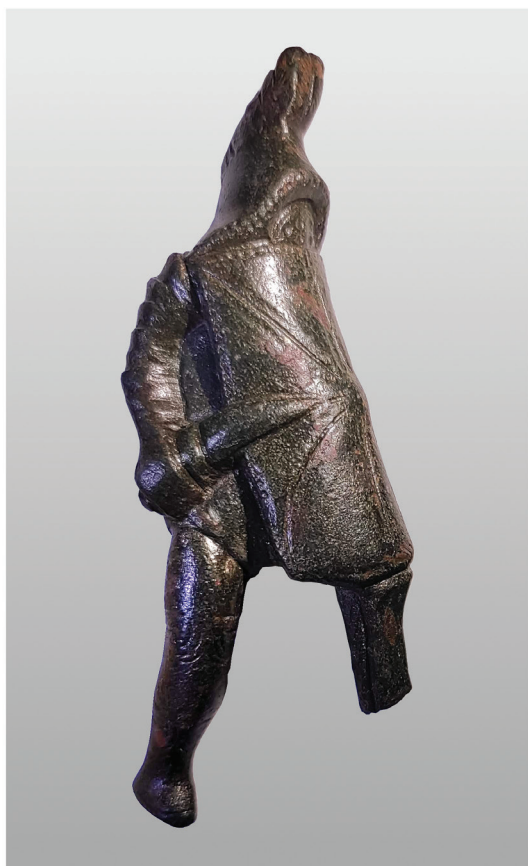
The bronze figurine<sup>35</sup> represents a *murmillio* gladiator stepping forward with his slightly bent left leg protected by an *ocrea*. The left foot is missing. The *ocrea* is undecorated but the laces are represented by V-shaped incised lines on the calf. There are some incised lines on the right foot as well. The gladiator is wearing a *subligaculum* and a *balteus* decorated with small incised dots, which is visible only on the back side of the object. The upper body is naked except for the *manica* on the right arm and the helmet. The crest of the helmet is decorated with very fine incised lines. There is a short sword in the right and a large rectangular shield in the left hand. The *umbo* of the shield is visible and the diagonals and median lines of the rectangle are marked with incised lines on the surface of the shield. The borders of the shield and the helmet are decorated with small hatches. The overall quality of the figurine is average.

As it was mentioned above, the find circumstances of the figurine do not help us to ascertain neither the function of the object nor its original place of use. Bronze figurines of gladiators, unlike similar knife handles, had no practical use, they were most probably personal objects, souvenirs from a *munus gladiatorum*. The owner of our bronze *murmillio* might be a soldier of the here stationed *legio I adiutrix*, who could buy the figurine in the nearby military amphitheatre west of the legionary fortress, sometime in the second or third century AD.<sup>36</sup>

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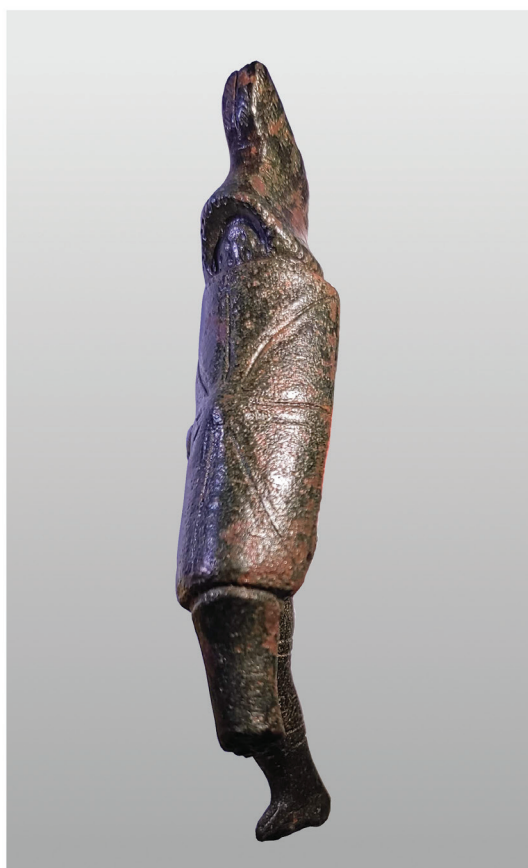
- 30 BABELON – BLANCHET 1895, 417, No. 943 [=REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.7].
- 31 FROEHNER 1885, 56, No. 264 [=REINACH 1897–1924, II.194.3.=KÖHNE – EWIGLEBEN 2000, 55. No. 49].
- 32 KATINTCHAROV 1984, No. 214 [=KUNZE 1990, 86, Abb. 38.=REINACH 1897–1924, III.156.10].
- 33 On mirror images and left-handed gladiators see BARTUS 2010, 35–40; WIRTH 2010.
- 34 Site: Brigetio/Szőny-Stadion út. Section: AJ-07-07. Stratigraphic unit: 1682. Package number: 0865/2019. Date of find: 26.08.2019. No inventory number yet. On the recent excavations in the legionary fortress of Brigetio see BARTUS et al. 2018.
- 35 Dimensions: 85×27×12 mm. Weight: 96 g. Olive-green surface with red dots and patches. The left foot is missing.
- 36 The research on the present paper was supported by the Bolyai János Postdoctoral Scholarship, the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (NKFI 119520), and the Bolyai+ Postdoctoral Scholarship (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University).



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Fig. 1. 1–4 – The bronze gladiator from the legionary fortress of Brigetio.

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